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ABSTRACT

"No part of Cherokee life has been more important to the Tribe, past or present, than that of a good education." Despite this attitude, it has not been easy for the Cherokee to bridge the gap between their subculture and that of the larger dominant U.S. society. Discipline and white enculturation were zealously pursued in early boarding schools and the bitterness created is still felt by many older Cherokee. Even today educational programs attempt to destroy the remnants of the unique folk culture and replace it with the Protestant ethic. Often the responses expected of children are in complete opposition to the values held by the Cherokee culture. Educational programs must be developed that will preserve the positive attributes of the marginal subcultures and yet at the same time prepare the student to meet the challenges of the dominant culture. Such a program is underway by a Cherokee group at Qualla Boundary. It seeks to promote the Cherokee culture, provide tutorial and counseling programs to help students stay in school and prepare them for college, encourage students to go on to college, and assist them in various ways to remain there. An adult education program is in operation at the new 7.5 million dollar high school, and college level courses offered on the reservation make it possible for adults to complete up to two years of college. This paper describes the history and culture of the Cherokee, presents the inadequacies of past and present educational programs, and sets forth specific programs of the Qualla Boundary group. (DS)

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RECENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AMONG THE EASTERN CHEROKEES

By

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"No part of Cherokee life has been more important to the Tribe, past or present, than that of good education" (Tribal Health Evaluation Report, 1975). This statement probably best states the Cherokee attitude toward education yet it has not been an easy task attempting to bridge the cultural gap existing between the Cherokee subculture and that of the larger dominant United States society. This paper looks at this phenomenon, the numerous attempts, failures, partial successes and the future potential of Cherokee educational endeavors.

First it is important to note that Cherokee education has a broader significance than what is commonly referred to as "formal education." Considerable evidence exist documenting the aboriginal educational process. Although this is a common phenomenon within folk cultures the Cherokee's distinctive cultural heritage attests to this groups unique acculturation and socialization process. Consequently the Cherokees were markedly different not only from that of the white man cut from other neighboring Indian groups as well (Reid, 1970). Certainly this required a strong emphasis on those crucial folk educational variables - acculturation and socialization, that is the process of learning the appropriate primary and secondary behavioral patterns within the aboriginal cultural environment.

ABORIGINAL SOCIALIZATION

One reason for the intensity of early Cherokee socialization was the degree of permanence these people had. Unlike most Native American groups the Cherokees lived in permanent farm villages. It is estimated that there were about sixty of these villages scattered over a vast territory that included parts of six southern states: Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. The village populations ranged from 300 to 600 inhabitants. The village structure was equally interesting since it consisted of individual log family dwellings and outbuildings all clustered together around a large seven-sided "Townhouse." This was their church and to denote its significance it was elevated on a mound so that it towered above all the other structures. In it was the sacred village fire which was kept burning year round and only extinquished and relit after their important new year "bouncing bush" festival. A stockade fence protected the village proper itself while the communal fields and pastures extended outwardly from this perimeter (Gearing, 1965).

Seven of these villages were known as "mother villages" representing the authority base of each of the Cherokee clans: Paint clan, Racoon clan, Blue Panther clan, Long Hair clan, Bird clan, Wolf clan and Deer clan. This was the true regulatory agency among the aboriginal Cherokees. No tribal order per se existed other than in the time of crisis when one of the village chiefs would assume the leadership role temporarily (Mooney, 1972). One plausible reason for a lack of a tribal political order was the fact that some 20,000 Cherokees were scattered across such a vast territory. Moreover the permanency of the farming villages allowed for a more informal control mechanism to operate such as the clan structure. These villages

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clustered into four districts, Overhills, Lower Towns, Middle Settlement, and Valley Towns, with main links of communication and cooperation established within each region. Overtime each district even developed its own Cherokee dialect. Only the clan structure encompassed all the villages and districts (Reid, 1970).

What was unique about the Cherokee clan structure was that it was matrilineal meaning that lineage was passed along by the females and not the males like it is in most Western societies. In fact females had considerable power and authority among the early Cherokees. Not only was the groom compelled to take on his wife's name he had to move into her mother's village and take up residence (matrilocal) in his wife's home. Contractual marriages did not exist. And it was the female who had the ultimate say regarding her marriage. It also seems that the females had virtually total authority and responsibility for the early socialization of Cherokee children (Reid, 1970). Women participated as equals with the men in important village decisions. Crucial village issues were settled through a democratic process of consensus. Here either the "White Chief" or the "Red Chief" would preside depending if it was a domestic or foreign matter. Women had an equal voice with the men and apparently were not distinquished from them in these proceedings since the only distinction made was according to class affiliation. Each clan occupied their respective section of the seven-sided "Town House" during these debates and rituals (French, 1975).

The Cherokee cooperative farm, known as the "Gadugi," demanded a total commitment from all the villagers requiring an harmonious atmosphere. In order for this to occur it was necessary for the Cherokees to adequately socialize and train young people so that they could readily fulfill their respective adult role models. Moreover, acceptable avenues of tension release had to be made available for adult Cherokees so as to avert internal divisiveness. Both the early socialization role training and acceptable avenues of tension release were provided through the Cherokee's unique "Harmony Ethic" (Thomas, 1958).

The Harmony Ethic provided the regulatory norms for the early Cherokees. Harmony and avoidance seem to be the basic tenets of this social philosophy. Elaborate networks of avoidance, determined mostly by clan sanctions, minimized the needs for formal control mechanisms such as written laws, police agencies, formal courts or correctional institutions (French, 1976). Instead disapproval of internal altercations was stressed through informal mechanisms such as ostracism and ridicule while blood vengeance was employed in the most serious cases. Basically this ethic manifests certain traits conducive to the maintenance of a harmonious internal relationship, a necessary factor in a cooperative agricultural society. The Harmony Ethic results in a socialization process whereby: (1) a high value is placed on individual independence and a resentment of authority, with a complementary hesitancy to command others; (2) a wariness and cautiousness in relation to both human and nonhuman aspects of the environment; and (3) a distinct obligation to fulfill requests, either implicit or explicit, made by relatives and other Cherokees (Thomas, 1958). This results in a distinct behavioral pattern consisting of obligatory hospitality and sharing, impassivity in public behavior, the refusal or unwillingness to contradict, the absense of gestures in public behavior and the reticence to assume authority role.

Yet these behavioral patterns should be placed in their proper perspective before drawing the false conclusion that the early Cherokees were a passive lot. The hard work associated with the yearly harvest was punctuated with six festivals each celebrating an important stage of the agricultural process. First there was the festival of the "First New Moon of Spring" indicating it was planting time. This was followed by the "New Green Corn" and the "Green Corn" festivals which celebrated the progressive growth of the crop. Next came the festival of "The First Appearance of the October New Moon" signifying that harvest time was about to begin while the "Establishment of Friendship and Brotherhood" festival celebrating the successful harvest. Lastly, the entire village partook in the "Bouncing Bush" festival, a new year celebration marked by a communal cleansing accompanied by a blanket forgiveness for all previous transgressions. This agriculture season was known as "Summer" while the rest of the year constituted "Winter." In addition to these six agricultural festivals other frenzied activities were also sanctioned. "Stickball games" between villages, "animal dances" before the hunt and the "victory dance" following the war party purification period are other examples of sanctioned avenues of almost total unlicensed behavior which served as a controlled mechanism of tension release for the otherwise harmonious Cherokees (Mooney, 1972).

WHITE INFLUENCES IN CHEROKEE EDUCATION

A great transformation occurred during the late 1700's and early 1800's when the Cherokees changed from the old clan/village system to that of a republic patterned after that of the young nation - the United States. This new tribal endeavor became known as the Cherokee Nation but it was designed to retain the distinctive Indian ethnic heritage of this group. Assimilation into the larger United States culture apparently was never a serious consideration. Yet considerable resocialization, hence reeducation, had to occur for this drastic transformation to succeed. This bold experiment started in the late 1700's when "Little Turkey," of the Ustanali village, emerged as the first permanent tribal chief - known as the "Principal Chief." During his reign (1792-1808) clan and village authority was replaced with a representative form of government (the Grand Cherokee National Council) and the establishment of formal, legal controls (Regulating Companies). By 1822 and the mold for the Cherokee Nation was set culminating with the National Constitution in 1827. The preamble sounds similar to that of the young white nation - the United States.

"We, the representatives of the people of the Cherokee Nation in convention assembled, in order to establish justice, ensure tranquility, promote our common welfare, and secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessing of liberty; acknowledging with humility and gratitude the goodness of the sovereign Ruler of the Universe, in offering as an opportunity so favorable to the design, and imploring His aid and direction in its accomplishment, do ordain and establish this constitution for the Government of the Cherokee Nation."

It is common knowledge that this Nation was not allowed to co-exist, as initially planned, beside that of the larger white United States society and the Cherokee Nation was subsequently destroyed in 1838 when, after three

years of legations, the bulk of the Cherokee people were gathered up, detained in prison stockades, and eventually forcefully removed to what was then known as "Indian Territory" (Oklahoma). A small contingency of Appalachian Cherokees were spared Forced Removal under the understanding that they would eventually become assimilated into the state of North Carolina deeding their land and becoming state citizens. This group later became known as the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Few Appalachian Cherokees complied with the conditions of this special arrangement (Treaty of 1835) leading to 140 years of harassment resolved finally in 1975.

A chronology of education development among both the early Cherokees and later, among the Eastern Band shows a strong correlation between education and religion. It seems that education was viewed by the larger white control apparatus as the best vehicle for controlling the Cherokee Indians. In 1799, only seven years after the establishment of a unified tribal government, the Moravian Society was successful in developing a "mission school" among the Cherokees. Five years later, in 1804, a Presbyterian minister opened another school among the Cherokees but it failed after a few years due to a lack of funding. But this was replaced with another Moravian Mission school started in 1821. Also, in 1817, the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" established its first station among the Cherokee Indians. An important consideration here was that the United States government aided in this educational endeavor providing funds for the construction of a school house, grist mill and workshops. This initial school prospered hence others were built serving some 200 Cherokee students by 1820. At the peak of the Cherokee Nation eighteen schools flourished only to be destroyed or abandoned following Removal (Kupferer, 1960).

Schooling declined among the Eastern Band as well, and when Indian Agent W. C. McCarthy assessed the situation in 1875, he found there were no schools and that few Appalachian Cherokees could speak English. The Eastern Cherokees did however continue to teach their own language and culture including the reading and writing of Cherokee. The current era began, for the most part, in 1881 when the Quakers offered their assistance to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. The Quakers and the tribe agreed to a ten year contract, subject to approval by the United States government, establishing an industrial school and other common schools. The contract was not renewed and on July 1, 1892 the United States government assumed control of the tribal schools. These were mainly boarding schools which followed a strict educational and socialization procedure (Tribal Report, 1976). Kupferer (1960) commented on the reaction of Eastern Cherokees toward these early boarding schools.

"The mention of school elicits such reminiscence as: 'They put dresses on me to keep me from running away; Think maybe I be ashamed to go through Cherokee in a girl's dress, but I did anyway.' This speaker is a young man in his early 30's. Another man about 56, recalls that there was a 'little stone house they locked the runaway boys in ... they kept them from speaking Indian, too.' Speaking about forbidding Cherokee speech, another said, 'They used to make us work, or whip us, if they caught us speaking Indian. I didn't like that at all. I'm proud to say that I can read and write in my own language.' A woman of 65, agrees with his

comments, adding, 'Seemed like they wanted us to be white.' One final antidote illustrates how vivid these recollections are for some. 'Thompson,' I said, 'tell me about when you were in school.' Thompson is a man over 70. 'One feller he hold one arm and another hold another and one behind me whup me. They took seven sticks about that thick (he used his forefinger to illustrate the size) and whup me.' 'Why?' I asked. 'Running away, after that I runned away and never come back. They should'nt have done that to me' (Kupferer, 1960:186).

In 1913 a building program was initiated which brought the Indian schools up to date and in 1929 the Eastern Cherokees had their first modern junior high school. Prior to this all those going beyond elementary school were sent west to the consolidated Indian boarding schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Nonetheless time took its toll and these wooden structures eventually outlived their utility. This led to the building of a new, brick million dollar elementary school in 1962. And in 1975 the 7.5 million dollar ultra-modern Cherokee high school opened its doors. Indeed, the Cherokee people, through the effort of its tribal leaders, are the ones most responsible for this progress since they have been petitioning for federal assistance for these schools since the 1950's.

THE EDUCATIONAL PARADOX:

Discipline and white enculturation where the methods of the earlier schools among the Cherokees. Children were sent off to the boarding schools at an early age, sometimes as young as three or four, seeing their parents only on weekends. No high schools were available under the old system although a few gifted Cherokee students were allowed to attend boarding schools out west. But for most Cherokee students school was a harrowing experience. Enculturation was pursued with zeal and children were whipped and had their mouths washed out with soap for speaking Cherokee. Ostensibly the bitterness associated with the boarding schools is still felt by many older Cherokees today and no one really knows how this may have affected their influence over others such as their children and close relatives.

The stress on rigid formality, a behavioral concept generally unfamilar to the Cherokees, and the use of crude modes of behavioral modification to insure compliance to the desired school behavior, probably did more harm than good. It is common knowledge that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) maintained some of their schools much like reform schools giving the Indian students the feeling that they were inferior, immoral and potential deviates. Like other total institutions the rigid formality and social distance established between the white staff and Indian students and the student's seclusion from their traditional cultural heritage proved to be quite traumatic for many.

Unfortunately this basic educational philosophy continues to exist even today. Granted, the tactics have changed but the focus on destroying the native Indian culture and on forced enculturation are as strong as ever. Today the approach is more subtle. Drawing on the elaborate techniques devised recently in the discipline of educational psychology, imposed

behavioral modification, that is the attempt to manipulate the student's psychic, has become a complex and expensive educational endeavor and the "Cherokee Follow-Through Program" offers a prime example. The METCOR agency which implements the Cherokee Follow-Through (F-T) program explains its objectives as such: "Funded to the Cherokee Indians tribal council in 1969, the Cherokee Follow-Through program was established primarily to provide a planned learning program for young children, grades kindergarten through three. Improvement of supportive services such as health, social and psychological services, nutrition, career development, and parent involvement was considered essential to the achievement of that primary educational objective, and thus these areas became corollary targets... The educational components of F-T utilizes the Engelmann-Becker model and is therefore geared to the notion that, with appropriate instruction, children who begin school with inadequate learning skills can learn at a faster-than-normal rate and can quickly close the gap between their initial skills level and that of the middle-class child" (Cherokee Follow-Through Program, 1974: i,ii).

In spite of its proposed objectives the Cherokee Follow-Through program is yet another attempt to destroy the remnants of the unique Cherokee folk culture and to replace it with that of the Protestant Ethic employed by the larger dominant society. Both the Protestant Ethic with its emphasis on individual achievement and competition and the Harmony Ethic with its focus on group cooperation and the avoidance of personal altercations are located at opposite ends of the epistemological methodological continuum. Hence the attempt to forcefully impose an alien educational/socialization program on a unique ethnic minority, like the Cherokees, strongly hints of ethnocentrism. The Cherokee Follow-Through program assumes it is desirable to condition children to learn basic educational skills. This is a behavioral modification program and the children are awarded 'points' for suitable behavior and achievement. These points are later redeemed for prizes at the end of the week. Structure is crucial to this program with little latitude allowed either the teacher or student. Some teachers have expressed dissatisfaction with this program complaining it leaves little discretion to the teachers especially regarding their ability to make qualitative judgements concerning the child. Success is measured strictly according to quantitative scores and the students are conditioned to succeed on tests. The students are grouped according to their reading ability and then receive instructions in these groups for math, language and reading. There is no spelling, science, history and very little music (20 minutes a week), or art (30 minutes a week). Cherokee language is taught a half-hour a week but not continued after the third grade. Tests are conducted every six weeks and group placement adjusted accordingly. A proficiency of eighty percent is required prior to advancement and if the student does not progress then he or she is run through the identical material again and again until they test at eighty percent.

The teachers are responsible for a certain amount of work and there is sometimes a not so subtle pressure applied if the students do not progress (the punishment end of the behavioral modification continuum). This pressure is bound to filter down to the children. But the school officials feel

this is crucial since volumns of reports are necessary for continued federal funding. Each spring the Solsson Intelligence test, Wide Range Achievement test and Metropolitan Achievement test are administered. These are used in justifying the program's goal of having at least fifty percent of the Cherokee students testing above the national norm. Quantitatively the scores indicate that this objective has been accomplished but according to experts in the testing field, these tests have been, to a great extent, invalidated. The Slosson has only one form and is administered every year to the same children. Teaching materials indicate that there is an attempt to "teach for the test." The children are conditioned to discriminate the odd item, a skill used in these tests, rather than to internalize knowledge. Graphs are worked to show desired results. There are skipped years in the tested groups. Phrases are used such as 'all children tested' indicating the possibility that not all were tested. Only the response given in the teaching materials is accepted from the students and this is elicited from them by the teacher snapping her fingers. Hence the Cherokee student is conditioned to parrot certain responses and not to think for themself and certainly not to be creative. Every word spoken by teacher and student is fixed and must be adhered to. A child coming from a Harmony Ethic background into this learning environment is subjected to severe cultural shock on a daily basis. One mother stated that her little girl could not understand why she was not given points for doing her chores at home. The child's attitude was 'why act properly if I am not going to be rewarded (in material terms) for it.' Certainly something seems lacking in projects such as the Cherokee Follow-Through program. Maybe quickcure packaged programs are not the answer. Perhaps the answer to a successful educational model is one actively involving Cherokees themselves and not just another alien model forced upon them.

TOWARD A VIABLE CHEROKEE EDUCATION MODEL:

Many scholars have addressed themselves to the restrictive nature of our middle-class educational system. Thomas and Wahrhaftig (1971) emphasized the futility of our educational system (based on the Protestant Ethic) when applied to cultural out-groups, notably the Ozark Whites and Cherokees residing in Oklahoma. These authors felt that American subcultures, especially those which do not subscribe to the dictates of the Protestant Ethic are "out of it" in terms of benefitting from our educational process. The system fails because it no longer adequately absorbs marginal members into the dominant middle-class lifestyle. And while numerous others have written on the effects of multi-cultural learning situations, one thing becomes quite apparent - that our formal educational system serves a role other than merely "educating" per se. It's most crucial mandate is to socialize, that is to prepare students in such a fashion that they will be able to function within the existing socio-cultural system.

The challenge is to strengthen and preserve the positive attributes of our country's marginal subcultures using the cultural milieu as a vehicle for preparing these people to cope within multiple-cultural environments. Reinstating their cultural pride without adequately preparing them for the challenges of the dominant culture will be as futile an effort as past

efforts have been. These efforts restricted access to their traditional culture while only partially availing them access to the dominant culture. And even among those few who have been successfully "assimilated" many often later come to resent this success and begin searching for their lost heritage.

Any viable multi-cultural educational model will place tremendous responsibility on the academic end of this relationship. The most important factor will be overcoming ethnocentrism, or what Max Weber referred to as our "value orientation." Teachers must be sensitive to their students needs and must be able to empathize with their students and to do this they must first become aware of the cultural differences existing between the larger dominant society and those of the particular subculture. Burger (1968), in his work "Ethno-Pedagogy", emphasized the role of the teacher as a bi-cultural agent. This is an important first step. Equally important, the instructional model must be capable of explaining the dominant value system in terms of the subcultural value system. Dreeben (1967) in, "The Contribution of Schooling to the Learning of Norms", stressed the relationship of learning norms of independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity within our educational system. These are all important values within the Protestant Ethic. Again, the challenge is to translate these values in terms of the particular folk culture where often the group, and not the individual, may be the primary focus of attention. A third step involves the teachers' interest in their students. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) mentioned this in their work "Pygmalion in the Classroom". They found a direct relationship exists between teacher expectation and student achievement. It is not enough to merely have Indian or Black teachers teaching minority students. Race or sex of the teacher apparently plays a minor role in regards to actual academic productivity. What really counts is having concerned, competent teachers.

A group of concerned Cherokees have been actively working on the educational problem existing at the Qualla Boundary. They have been working on this for a couple of years now and progress would probably have been minimal if it had not been for the construction of the new 7.5 million dollar Cherokee high school. While such an elaborate facility in itself will not improve the level of instruction, it is hoped that it will inspire new hope in many students who otherwise would leave school prematurely. Especially important is the new adult education center operating at the school. College-level courses are for the first time being offered on the reservation making it possible for adults to complete up to two years of college. Again, these programs by no means guarantee success. In order to insure success, however, concerned Cherokees offered their own input into the educational situation. First a Native American student organization was formed. The organization's objectives are:

1. To promote a sense of unity among Cherokee students attending college.

2. To encourage other Cherokees, both adults and high school students, to go on to college.

3. To establish a tutorial and counseling program designed to help the Cherokee student adapt to this new cultural and academic setting. Few faculty and administrators realize that the Cherokee "Harmony Ethic" differs considerably from the larger White "Protestant Ethic". For this tutorial and counseling program to be effective the faculty tutors and counselors will have to first familiarize themselves with these cultural differences.

4. To establish a Cherokee studies minor or concentration for Cherokee students. This would be multi-discipline and would aid these future leaders in continuing their cultural heritage.

5. To actively promote the Cherokee culture.

6. To gain recognition for the Cherokee's academic accomplishments and to use the organization as a vehicle for obtaining grants, scholarships, etc., as well as exploring potential job prospects and graduate studies.

In addition, the Cherokee Student Organization sponsored a community-wide meeting for Cherokee in-put into a new federal grant awarded to a state university located some twenty miles away from the reservation. Their suggestions are as follows:

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SUMMER PREPARATORY PROGRAM FOR CHEROKEE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND ADULTS ANTICIPATING FURTHERING THEIR EDUCATION:

   Here it was suggested that special programs be devised and implemented to ascertain the particular needs of Cherokee students while still in high school. The ensuing special programs should include such topics as "how to study", "what is expected of the college student", "adjusting to cultural shock" as well as special preparatory courses for those with academic deficits. Most felt that these preparatory programs should utilize special classroom environments, one that draws the student into the curriculum.

2. ACADEMIC YEAR TUTORIAL PROGRAMS FOR ENROLLED REGULAR STUDENTS:

   It was strongly felt that one of the most important goals of any revised program designed at improving the quality of Cherokee education is the availability of concerned, competent tutors and counselors. As the situation stands now many feel that without this service Western Carolina University's high Cherokee attrition rate will just continue.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SPECIAL ADULT EXTENSION PROGRAM AT CHEROKEE:

   This has been already established since our initial meeting but again many are concerned with the quality of this program.

It seems that again, as in the past, limited communication between high administrative officials was involved in the establishment of the Cherokee extension campus. If these same people have failed in past efforts what makes them so certain that renewed programs will bring about more productive results? Many Cherokees who are receptive to the educational needs of their people, but seldom consulted, feel that for the extension program to truly benefit the Cherokees, items (1), (2), (4), (5) and (6) of this proposal must first be seriously considered.

4. ON-GOING NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURAL WORKSHOPS:

This proposal was felt to be a very important one especially by those members of the tribe who have had exposure to outside academic institutions such as Western Carolina University. It is felt that Western Carolina University faculty, especially those involved in teaching Cherokee students, should participate in these workshops. These cultural workshops certainly should be compulsory for tutors. The basis for this type of exchange is that often students and faculty come from different cultural backgrounds being unaware of conflicting values which may impede the learning process (ethnocentrism).

5. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STUDENT COMPANIONSHIP PROGRAM:

Here members of the Cherokee Student Organization would work on a one-to-one basis with potential college students helping orient them to their new academic environment. This program is intended to better prepare the potential student psychologically, culturally and academically for their prospective role as university student. This interchange could lead to orientation credit for the new student and credit toward the "Cherokee minor" for the assisting Cherokee Student Organization member (see item #7).

6. THE UTILIZATION OF A CHEROKEE ADVISORY GROUP:

This organization should comprise of members from the Cherokee Student Organization, tribal council, the Cherokee Advisory School Board, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and others with the purpose of aiding in any and all Western Carolina University and the Qualla Boundary, providing valuable in-put and feedback concerning Cherokee's educational need.

7. THE CREATION OF A CHEROKEE MINOR AT WESTERN CAROLINA UNIVERSITY:

Strong interest was shown toward the development of Native American courses at Western Carolina University which would not only benefit Indian and non-Indian students alike but also would provide for a Cherokee minor for students from the Qualla Boundary. It is felt that this would provide an additional incentive for many potential college students while at the same time providing an invaluable service by helping the Cherokees preserve their cultural heritage.

CONCLUSIONS:

This model represents merely the tip of the iceburg. Many other similar programs involving a multitude of minority subcultures must also be initiated. These trial and error situations are the most valuable learning experiences for our educational system. Once we have sufficient feedback and in-put from these diverse subcultural experiences then we can attempt to integrate them into the larger educational model so that all Americans can share this knowledge. Accordingly, we can greatly improve our personal horizons by sharing in the wealth of information generated by the various unique groups comprising our highly heterogenous society. To do this we need a viable educational epistemology, one that is both broad and flexible. This is the challenge for our future not more and more reliance on forced accomodation often through rigidly structured and often unpopular enforced laws.

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